

Enallage in Ugaritic Poetic Texts

Scott B. Noegel, Washington

Abstract

In this contribution I present evidence for the use of enallage in twenty-one poetic texts from Ugarit. Enallage occurs when a text abruptly switches person, number, case, or tense. This study focuses only on cases that involve changes in person. After providing said evidence – all of which appears in direct discourse – I divide the cases into four types (second to third, third to second, first to third, and third to first person). I then examine the distribution of these types in terms of speakers and addressees (divine and mortal) and I consider how the device integrates personal names and epithets. I then discuss a number of functions that enallage possesses in the light of comparative Greek and Arabic texts, whose employment of the device has received greater scholarly attention. I conclude with a number of observations on how Ugaritic enallage differs in its use and on the importance of these finds for the study of the device in biblical Hebrew texts.

Résumé

Je présente ici des preuves de l'utilisation de l'énallage dans vingt et un textes poétiques d'Ugarit. L'énallage se produit lorsqu'un texte change brusquement de personne, de nombre, de cas ou de temps. Cette étude se concentre sur les cas qui impliquent des changements dans la personne. Après avoir fourni lesdites preuves – qui apparaissent toutes dans le discours direct – je divise les cas en quatre types (deuxième à troisième personne, troisième à deuxième, première à troisième, et troisième à première). J'examine ensuite la distribution de ces types en termes de locuteurs et de destinataires (divins et mortels) et je considère comment le dispositif intègre les noms et épithètes personnels. Je discute ensuite d'un certain nombre de fonctions que possède l'énallage à la lumière des textes comparatifs grecs et arabes, dont l'emploi du dispositif a reçu une plus grande attention scientifique. Je conclus par un certain nombre d'observations sur la façon dont l'énallage ougaritique diffère dans son utilisation et sur l'importance de ces découvertes pour l'étude de l'appareil dans les textes bibliques hébreux.

Zusammenfassung

In diesem Beitrag präsentiere ich Belege für den Gebrauch von Enallage in einundzwanzig poetischen Texten aus Ugarit. Enallage tritt auf, wenn ein Text abrupt Person, Zahl, Fall oder Zeitform wechselt. Diese Studie konzentriert sich nur auf die Fälle, in denen die Person gewechselt wird. Nach diesen Belegen – die alle im direkten Diskurs vorkommen – unterteile ich die Fälle in vier Typen (zweite zu dritte, dritte zu zweite, erste zu dritte, und dritte zu erste Person). Anschließend untersuche ich die Verteilung dieser Typen in Bezug auf Sprecher und Adressaten

(göttlich und sterblich), und ich betrachte, wie das Gerät Personennamen und Epitheta integriert. Anschließend erörtere ich eine Reihe von Funktionen, die die Enallage im Lichte vergleichbarer griechischer und arabischer Texte besitzt, deren Verwendung dieses Mittels in der Wissenschaft größere Aufmerksamkeit erfahren hat. Ich schließe mit einer Reihe von Beobachtungen darüber, wie sich die ugaritische Enallage in ihrem Gebrauch unterscheidet, und über die Bedeutung dieser Funde für die Untersuchung des Instruments in biblisch-hebräischen Texten.

Keywords: addressee, apostrophe, Arabic, Bible, distance, enallage, epithet, Greek, Hebrew, illocutionary, intimacy, performative, person, reference switching, Ugaritic

In this study I should like to call attention to the presence of enallage in the Ugaritic poetic epics (Kirtu, Aqhat, and Baal). The term “enallage”, which derives from the Greek ἐναλλαγή “interchange, alternation, variation”, occurs when a text abruptly changes person, number, case, or tense¹. My concern here is only with those cases that involve changes in person². Typically enallage switches referents from second to third person, third to second person, first to third person, or more rarely third to first person³. The device is familiar to students of biblical Hebrew, but it also appears in Sumerian, Akkadian, Hittite, Aramaic, Syriac, Greek and

¹ MONTANARI 2015: 683, s.v. ἐναλλαγή.

² Enallage has received attention from classicists, but these studies often apply the term more strictly to the use of an adjective to modify a noun other than the one it should describe, a trope sometimes also called “hypallage” or “transferred epithet”. Representative studies include BERS 1974; HOEKSTRA 1976; CONTE 2007: 58–122. Scholars of Near Eastern literature who have cited cases of enallage usually do not have in mind the devices discussed by classicists, but rather primarily cases that involve a switch in persons. Moreover, confusion in terminology also arises from the fact that some scholars working with Arabic texts use the term “apostrophe” for what most others call “enallage”. See, e.g. DURAKOVIĆ 2007; AL-QURAN – AL-AZZAM 2009; AL-BADANI 2014. The ancient Arabic grammarians refer to enallage as *’iltifāt* meaning “redirection”. See HAMMOND 2018, online reference, s.v. *’iltifāt*. Strictly speaking, apostrophe describes the act of addressing a personified object or a person present or not present in the literary work. The skull of Yorick the jester in William Shakespeare’s *Hamlet* (Act V, Scene I) is a famous example. While contemporary scholarship has focused on figures not present, Quintilian (*Institutio Oratoria* IX.2.38–39) already understood the addressee as present. See D’ESPÈREY 2006. For apostrophe in Ugaritic texts, as commonly defined, see already WATSON 1984.

³ This is the case at least in biblical Hebrew. According to KAUTZSCH 1910: 462, §144, enallage also can occur after a vocative or after ׀. He lists the following texts, though the roster is not meant to be exhaustive: Gen 26:7; 49:4; Lev 2:8; Deut 32:15; 32:17; 2 Kgs 9:31; Isa 1:29; 5:8; 22:16; 29:15; 31:6; 42:20; 47:8; 48:1; 52:14; 54:1; 54:11; 61:7; Jer 22:13; 22:16; 29:19; 49:4; 49:16; Amos 5:6; Mic 1:2 (=1 Kgs 22:28); Mal 2:15; 3:9; Ps 22:9; Job 13:28; 16:7; Lam 3:1. No cases of third to first person enallage appear in his list, but see below. It also is stated that the switch from second to third person constitutes a move from an address to a statement. This is not the case in the Ugaritic epics.

Arabic texts⁴. Nevertheless and rather surprisingly, the device has yet to receive a comprehensive treatment in any of the Near Eastern literary corpora. This is all the more startling for biblical Hebrew, since enallage has been known in the Bible and discussed since at least the Middle Ages⁵. Consequently, it is fair to say that we do not fully comprehend its function. Complicating this state of affairs is that enallage is not restricted in Near Eastern literature to a single genre, but appears in texts of many types, both poetry and prose and in prayers, love poetry, laws, letters, incantations, and prophecies.

Since a lack of comprehensive study limits our understanding of the function of enallage we should gather examples wherever they occur. This is especially the case for Ugaritic, since, to my knowledge, no study of enallage in Ugaritic literature has ever appeared; and yet, these texts are ideal in many ways for such an investigation, because the corpus is small enough to provide us with a controlled case study⁶. With this in mind, below I first illustrate how enallage works with five diverse biblical examples, before turning to the Ugaritic evidence. Afterwards, I shall offer a few observations on the device's possible functions. I begin, most famously, with Psalm 23.

- 1 מִזְמוֹר לְדָוִד יְהוָה רֹעִי לֹא אֶחְסָר:
 2 בְּנֵאוֹת דְּשָׂא יַרְבִּיצֵנִי עַל־מֵי מְגַחֹת יִנְהַלֵּנִי:
 3 נַפְשִׁי יִשׁוּבֵב יִנְחֵנִי בְּמַעְגְלֵי צֶדֶק לְמַעַן שְׁמוֹ:
 4 גַּם כִּי־אֵלֶּף בְּגִיא צַלְמוֹת לֹא־אִירָא רַע כִּי־אֲתֵּה עִמָּדִי שְׁבֹטֶךָ וּמַשְׁעֲנֵתֶךָ הִמָּה יִנְחַמֵּנִי:
 5 תַּעֲרֹף לִפְנֵי שָׁן חֶן נִגְדַּ צְרָרִי דִשְׁנֵת בְּשֶׁמֶן בְּשֶׁמֶן רֹאשִׁי כּוֹסֵי רִנָּה:
 6 אֵף טוֹב נְחֻסֵּד יִרְדְּפוּנִי כָּל־יְמֵי חַיִּי וְשִׁבְתִּי בְּבֵית־יְהוָה לְאַרְךָ יָמִים:

1. A psalm of David. **Yahweh** is my shepherd. I do not lack.
2. **He** makes me lie down in green pastures. **He** leads me to water in places of repose.
3. **He** renews my life. **He** guides me in right paths for his name's sake.

⁴ For biblical Hebrew, see STAERK 1894; STEUERNAGEL 1894; 1896; 1898; 1912; MITCHELL 1899; EISSFELT 1934: § 22, 32; LEVIAS 1934; LORETZ 1964: 213–14; DE TILLESSE 1962; BEGG 1980; BOKOVOY 2000; ARNOLD 2017a; 2017b: 32. Concerning enallage in Sumerian, see KRAMER 1962: 132; SEFATI 1998: 136–37. For Akkadian, see PARPOLA 1983: 107 n. 24; and the comment of CAPLICE 1965: 120: “Alternation from second to third person is a widely attested stylistic device, both in the namburbis and elsewhere in Akkadian and other Near Eastern literature”. For enallage in Hittite literature, see FRANTZ-SZABÓ 1995: 2010, where the author observes its frequent use in the *Aphasia of Murshili II*. On enallage in Graeco-Roman texts, see BERS 1974; HOEKSTRA 1976; CONTE 2007. For Syriac, see ARAYATHINAL 2006: 362–72. On the device in Arabic texts, with a focus primarily on the Qur’ān, see HATIM – MASON 1997: 114; DURAKOVIĆ 2007; AL-QURAN – AL-AZZAM 2009.

⁵ For a useful discussion of the device with attention to mediaeval commentators, see BRETTLER 2018.

⁶ To my knowledge, only KIM 2011: 130–31, 201, has suggested the presence of enallage in Ugaritic texts. I cite his observations below. However, he was anticipated already by WATSON 2000, who examined a number of cases, though he did not use the term. I cite his seminal study throughout as well.

4. Though I walk through a valley of deepest darkness, I fear no evil, for **you** are with me. **Your** rod and **your** staff, they comfort me.
5. **You** spread a table for me before my enemies. **You** anoint my head with oil. My cup is abundant.
6. Only goodness and kindness shall pursue me all the days of my life, and I shall dwell in the house of **Yahweh** for many years.

Note how verses 1-3 and the final verse address Yahweh in the third person, but lines 4 and 5 employ the second person.

In Song 1:2, we find the lover moving rapidly from third to second person:

ישקני מנשיקות פיהו כִּי־טוֹבִים דְּדִידָהּ מִיַּיִן:

Let **him** kiss me with the kisses of **his** mouth, for **your** love is greater than wine⁷.

Lam 3:1 demonstrates enallage by transitioning from first to third person.

אֲנִי הַגִּבֹּר רָאָה עֵנִי בְשֶׁבֶט עֲבָרָתוֹ

I am the man who (lit. **he**) has seen suffering under the rod of his fury.

See similarly the words of Joseph's brothers who insist on their innocence when Joseph accuses them of being spies (Gen 42:10–11).

10 וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלָיו לֹא אֲדֹנָי וְעַבְדֶּיךָ בָּאוּ לְשֶׁבֶר־אֶכֶל:
11 בָּלָנוּ בְּנֵי אִישׁ־אֶחָד נִחְנוּ כְּנֵים אֶנְחֵנוּ לֹא־הָיוּ עַבְדֶּיךָ מְרַגְלִים:

But they said to him, “No, my lord! **Your servants** have come to procure food!

All of **us** are sons of the same man. **We** are being honest! **Your servants** have never been spies”!

This example, which occurs in direct discourse and in prose, moves from third to first person and then back again to third person⁸.

My final example is of the second-to-third person type. It also occurs in prose, but not in direct discourse (Lev 2:8).

⁷ Noted by POPE 1977: 297.

⁸ I thank my graduate student Corinna Nichols for this example, not listed in KAUTZSCH 1910: 462, §144.

וְהִבֵּאתָ אֶת־הַמִּנְחָה אֲשֶׁר יַעֲשֶׂה מֵאֲלֶה לַיהוָה וְהִקְרִיבָהּ אֶל־הַכֹּהֵן וְהִגִּישָׁהּ אֶל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ:

When **you** present a meal offering to Yahweh that is made in any of these (ways), **he** will bring it to the priest who will take it up to the altar⁹.

In what follows, I provide evidence for enallage from the Ugaritic Epic of Kirtu, Epic of Aqhat, and Epic of Baal¹⁰.

I. Enallage in the Epic of Kirtu

My first example, studied first by Wilfred Watson and more recently Koowon Kim, appears in the words of El to Kirtu, the king of Khubur. Here the god moves quickly from second to third person when he asks what distresses him, but after Kirtu clarifies that he desires children rather than wealth, servants, and chariots, El shifts back to the second person vocative¹¹.

*mat*¹² / *krt* . *kybky* /
ydm ' . *n'mn* . *glm* / *il* .
mlk . *kabh* / *yarš* .
hm . *drk[t]* / *kab* . *adm*

“What ails **you O Kirtu**, that **he** cries?
 That **he** weeps, the **Pleasant, Lad of El**”?
 Is it kingship, like his father, **he** wants?
 Or dominion like the Father of Man”?
 CAT 1.14 i 38–43

⁹ According to MILGROM 1991: 185: “...the switch from second person (vv 4–7) to third person is unexplained”.

¹⁰ Reference switching between second and third person also occurs in some Ugaritic letters (CAT 2.4; 2.11; 2.12; 2.13; 2.16; 2.30; 2.33+; and 2.34). See GORDON 1965: §13.86; WAGNER 1999. These letters and sources are cited by WATSON 2000: 77. It is important to note that the letters are not poetry and that they possess conventions of decorum and deference that govern their diction. See PARDEE – WHITING 1987. Thus shifts in person can inform greeting formulae or can have a volitive sense in the letter’s body. While a comparison with enallage in epistolary contexts might prove illuminating, especially as it concerns issues of distance and intimacy, it is beyond the scope of this study.

¹¹ Throughout I adopt (with some changes) the translations found in PARKER 1997.

¹² CAT opts to emend *mat* to *m<h>t*, which WATSON 2000: 79 n. 20, states as “unnecessary”. The issues are thoroughly discussed by KIM 2011: 200–201, who (like Watson) treats the form *mat* as a crasis of the interrogative *mh*, *my*, or *m* “what” and *at* “you”. For an analogue, he points to *mhy* “what she” in CAT 2.14.9 (200 n. 133) and observes that, as such, El’s query anticipates Kirtu’s interrogative response in CAT 1.14 i 51: *lm ank* “what is it to me”? (201). LAM 2019, suggests we read the form as an interrogative attached to the verb *’tw* “come”. However, we now may lay to rest alternative proposals in the light of enallage, which is common enough in the Ugaritic texts to see it as operative here.

*d[y]k . bbk . krt /
bdm' . n'mn . glm / il .*

“Enough of crying, **O Kirtu**,
Of weeping, the **Pleasant, Lad of El**!”
CAT 1.14 ii 7–9

Though Kirtu’s request separates the two addresses, the enallage is clear¹³.
The switch appears again in Kirtu’s dream in El’s instructions:

*šrd*¹⁴ . b'l / *bdbhk* .
bn . dgn / bmsdk .
wyrd / krt . lggt
'db / akl . lqryt /

“**Adore** Baal with your sacrifice,
Dagan’s son with your offering.
Then **let Kirtu descend** from the rooftops.
Ready rations for the city”.
CAT 1.14 ii 25–28

This passage appears after a long series of commands that involve ritual preparations for a sacrifice: washing, entering a pavilion, taking a lamb and pigeon, pouring wine, ascending the city wall and raising the hands towards the heavens. El concludes his address in the second person, but immediately afterwards moves to the third person imperfect with the king’s name¹⁵.

Soon afterwards and still in the dream, El instructs Kirtu what to say to King Pabuli when laying siege to Udum. He commands him not to harass the city or the king, but instead to request the following:

pd . in . bbtv . ttn
tn . ly . mtt . hry /
n'mt . šph . bkrk /

“What is *not* in my house you must give **me**:
You must give **me** Lady Huraya
The Fair One, your firstborn child”!
CAT 1.14 iii 38–40

¹³ Seven lines are missing from column ii, which likely contained El’s suggestion that Kirtu ask for wealth, servants, and chariots. See the reconstruction of WYATT 2002: 184.

¹⁴ The form *šrd* also can mean “cause to descend.” See NOEGEL 2014, on the erudite use of polysemy here and in other passages in the dream. On the role of such devices in dream narratives generally, see NOEGEL 2007.

¹⁵ WATSON 2000: 80.

Following a description of Huraya's beauty, Kirtu summarises his desire for her while referring to himself in the third person.

*wld . špḥ . lkrt /
wǧlm . l'bd . il /*

“Who will bear progeny for **Kirtu**,
A lad for the **Servant of El**”.

CAT 1.14 iii 48–49

When Kirtu's dream is fulfilled (CAT 1.14 vi 22–25, 33–35), the same enallage occurs again, this time in Kirtu's speech to Pabuli. The *verbatim* repetition illustrates that Kirtu obeyed El's command in his dream¹⁶.

Later in the epic, Kirtu falls ill and when his second-born son Ilḥu learns of his sickness, he cries:

*bḥyk . abn . n!šmḥ /
blmtk . nḡln .
kklb / bbtk . n'tq .
kinr / ap! . ḥštk
ap . ab . kmtm / tmtn .
uḥštk . lntn / 'tq .
bd . aṭt ab . ṣrry /*

“In **your** living, O father, we are happy!
In **your** not-dying we rejoice!
Like a dog having passed into **your** tomb¹⁷;
Like a cur, even into **your** grave.
How can **you**, O father, die like a mortal?
Or **your** grave, will it pass into dirges,
To a woman's song, O eminent father”?

CAT 1.16 i 14–19¹⁸

Here Ilḥu's lament uses second person pronouns and vocatives. However, immediately afterwards, he continues his address, but in the third person.

¹⁶ WYATT 2002: 198 n. 104; 204 n. 128, proposes that we emend *wld* to *ktld*, but the form occurs again in the repeated pericope and so I am inclined to retain the form, despite its difficulty. Might it be an infinitive?

¹⁷ DE MOOR 1987: 215 and HOOPEN 2019: 361, are among the few to read *n'tq* as a first person plural imperfect form. I read it, with others, as an N-stem perfect. DULAT 192, s.v. *'tq*, translates the line: “like a dog (that) has become old in your house”.

¹⁸ This is repeated later by Kirtu's daughter Thitmanit also with second person forms (CAT 1.16 ii 36–44).

ikm . yrgm . bn il / krt .
šph . ltpn / wqdš .
uilm tmtn /
šph . ltpn . lyh /

“How can it be said that **Kirtu** is the **Son of El**?

Progeny of the Gentle and Holy One?

Gods, after all, do they die?

The **Gentle One’s Progeny**, will it not live?”

CAT 1.16 i 20–23

Soon afterwards, Kirtu’s daughter Thitmanit repeats Ilḥu’s words and the enallage they contain, but with some variation (CAT 1.16 ii 36–44)¹⁹. However, before entering her father’s presence, Thitmanit continues her speech with a mixture of second and third person forms.

tbkyk / ab . ḡr . b’l .
š[p]n . ḥlm / qdš .
nny . ḥ[l]m . adr /
ḥl . rḥb . mk[npt] /
ap . krt bn[m . il] /
šph . ltpn [. wqdš] /

“Baal’s mountain will weep for **you**, father.

Mount Sa[ph]on, the holy mountain.

Mount Nani, the mighty do[ma]in,

A domain stretched as wide as a wing[span].

But **Kirtu** is a **son [of El]**,

Progeny of the Gentle [and Holy One]!

CAT 1.16 ii 44–49

In search of a cure for the sickly Kirtu, El asks the other gods in the assembly the following question seven times:

[my .] bilm / ydy . mrš
gršm . zbln /

¹⁹ Ilḥu used the expression *ltn ‘tq* “to pass into dirges”, whereas Thitmanit changes it to *lbky ‘tq* “to pass into weeping”. She also leaves out the question *ikm . yrgm . bn il / krt* “How can it be said that Kirtu is the Son of El?” and she changes *ap . krt bn[m . il] / šph . ltpn [. wqdš]* “But Kirtu is the son [of El], the progeny of the Gentle [and Holy One]” to *šph . [l]tpn . lhy* “The Progeny of the Gentle One, will he not live”? The study of repetition and subtle variation, or what elsewhere I have dubbed “polyprosopon”, requires scholarly attention in Ugaritic literature. For a partial foray into the topic, see NATAN-YULZARY 2017. On this device in the Hebrew Bible, see GOLDINGAY 1978; SHAMIR 2005; NOEGEL – RENDSBURG 2009: 107–27 (on polyprosopon); RENDSBURG 2013; 2015.

“Who of the gods **can remove** illness?
Who **can dispel** a disease”?

CAT 1.16 v 10–22, here 20–21

Each time he does so in the third person. When none of the gods responds, he switches to the second person.

*tb . bny . lmtbtkm /
lkhṭ . zblk[m] .*²⁰

“**Stay seated**, my sons, on **your** seats,
On **your** princely thrones”!

CAT 1.16 v 24–25

II. Enallage in the Epic of Aqhat

Turning to the *Epic of Aqhat* we again find enallage. The device first occurs in Baal’s compassionate entreaty to El on behalf of Danel, in which he appears, as Baruch Margalit remarks, “in the rôle of intermediary conveying the prayers of the devotee to their proper destination”²¹. As observed by Kim, Baal moves rapidly from second to third person²².

*abyn at / dnil . mt . rpi .
anḥ . ḡzr / mt . hrnmy .
din . bn . lh / km . aḥh
w . šrš . km . aryh /
bl . it . bn . lh . k!m . aḥh .
wšrš / km . aryh .*

The lamenting one, **you** are, **O Danel**, man of Rapiu!
The moan of **the hero, man of the Harnemite!**
To **him** there is no son like **his** siblings,
No offspring like that of **his** fellows.
Will **he** have no son like **his** siblings,
No offspring like that of **his** fellows”?

CAT 1.17 i 16–21

We next encounter the device in Anat’s violent threat to El. Following a fragmentary section of ten lines, Anat refers to herself in the first person, but immediately afterwards in the third person:

²⁰ Note the clever paronomasia between *zbl* “disease” and *zbl* “princely”.

²¹ MARGALIT 1989: 266.

²² KIM 2011: 128–31, discusses the various interpretive proposals and emendations. Cf. PARDEE 2011: 911 n. 19, who notes that the reading *abyn at* “is problematic because of the 3rd person forms in the following verse”. There is no problem with the text if we understand it as employing enallage.

ašhkk [šbtk dmm] /
[šbt dq]nk . mm 'm .
w[] / aqht . wypltk .
bn [dni] / wy 'drk .
byd . bitl . ['nt] /

“I will make [your head] run [with blood],
 Your old gre[y bea]rd with gore.
 Then [cry to(?)] Aqhat to rescue you,
 To Danel’s son to save you
 From the hand of the **Maiden [Anat]**”.

CAT 1.18 i 11–14

Later in the tale, Anat addresses the Sutean warrior Yatpan in the third person²³.

*yṭb . yṭp*²⁴.

“Let **Yatpan** turn []”

CAT 1.18 iv 7

Since Yatpan replies to her (CAT 1.18 iv 11–15), it is clear that she was addressing him directly. This is borne out soon afterwards, when Anat again responds to Yatpan, but in the second person:

*ṭb . yṭp*²⁵ . w[]/lk
aštk . km . nšr . bḥb[šy] /
km . diy . bt 'rty .

bn . nšrm . arḥp . an[k
]l / aqht . 'dbk

“Turn here, **O Yatpan** and [I will teach (?)] **you**,
 I will put **you** like a raptor in my be[lt],
 Like a falcon into my sheath...

Among the birds I will circle,
 Over Aqhat I will aim **you**”.

CAT 1.18 iv 16–18, 21–22

²³ See WATSON 2000: 81. On the god’s epithet, see RAHMOUNI 2007: 224–25. We sorely lack a corresponding study of human epithets in the Ugaritic texts.

²⁴ The text lacks the final *n* here.

²⁵ Here again the text lacks the final *n* after the name.

After hearing of his son's murder, Danel performs a ritual that involves embracing and kissing stalks in a thicket. As Watson observes, his invocation starts in the third person, but moves immediately to the second person²⁶.

*aḥl . an . bṣ[ql] /
 ynp' . bpalt . bṣql .
 yp' . byǧlm / ur .
 tiṣpk . yd . aqht / ǧzr .
 tštk . bqr̄bm . asm /*

Let me console the sta[lks],
Let the stalks shoot up in the brush,
 The **wild plants sprout** in the thicket,
 The hand of Aqhat the Hero collect **you**,
 Place **you** inside the storehouse”.

CAT 1.19 ii 15–18

The ritual repeats again, along with the enallage, in CAT 1.19 ii 22–25.

After Danel completes his period of mourning for his son Aqhat, his daughter Paghit seeks to avenge her brother's death. She addresses Danel directly, but in the third person.

*qrym . ab . dbḥ . lilm /
 š'ly . dǧt[h(?)] . bšmym /
 dǧt . hrnmy . [bk]bkbm /*

“(My) **father** has presented an offering for the gods,
 Into the heavens **he** sent incense,
 [To the] stars the **Harnemite's** incense”²⁷.

CAT 1.19 iv 29–31

Paghit then calls upon her father to bless her, but now employs second person forms.

*ltbrkn . alk . brktm(?) /
 tmrn . alk . nmr̄tt /
 imḥṣ . mḥṣ . aḥy .
 ak̄l [m]/kl[y 'l] . umty .*

²⁶ WATSON 2000: 81. The lack of an introductory formula to Paghit's speech expresses additional emotion. See WATSON 1990: 417.

²⁷ WYATT 2002: 309 n. 262, notes: “Text *dǧth*. ‘His’ cannot be right when Pughat is speaking directly to Danel, since she is not addressing him in the third person”. However, if we see the line as containing enallage, we may retain the form.

“Verily **you** will bless me; I will go blessed!
You will empower me; I will go empowered!
 I would slay the slayer of my sibling,
 Finish the [fin]isher of my brother”!
 CAT 1.19 iv 32–35

III. Enallage in the *Epic of Baal*

When the god Baal first requests that a temple be built for him, he refers to himself in the third person²⁸.

[*wn . in .*] *bt* [.] *l*[*b' l . km . ilm*]
 [*wḥzr*] / *kbn* [*atrt .*]
 [*mṭb . il . mṣll*] / *bnh .*

“[For **Baal** has no] house [like the gods],
 [No court] like the sons of [Athirat].
 [The dwelling of El is the shelter of] **his** sons”.
 CAT 1.3 iv 48–49

His petition is rather passive-aggressive since it nowhere contains any relevant second person or imperative verbs such as *ttn/tn* “give” or *tbny/bny* “build”. Instead the request is implied. Though this passage does not constitute enallage, per se, as it contains no shift in person, these exact words repeat again when his messengers deliver them to the artisan god Kothar (CAT 1.4 i 4–6)²⁹. Here Baal follows his request with another message, now in the first person. His second request is also more direct since it contains the imperative causative form *šskn* “produce”³⁰.

ap . mṭn . rgmm / argmk .
šskn m' / mgn . rbt . atrtym /
mḡz . qnyt . ilm

²⁸ The beginning of the text is broken making the speaker unclear, but parallels later (i.e. CAT 1.3 v 38–39) reveal that Baal is being introduced: *any . lyṣḥ . tr . il . abh . il . mlk . ḏyknh* “In lament he cries to Bull El, his Father, to El, the king who created him” (CAT 1.3 v 35–39 [here 35–36]). Note the view of SMITH – PITARD 2009: 304–305: “There can be little doubt that Baal is the speaker here, since Anat specifically responds to the speech in line 53 (*wt'n [bilt' nt]*)”.

²⁹ His words also repeat earlier in his message to Kothar by way of his messengers (CAT 1.3 v 38–41), but the remaining portion of that column is missing roughly twenty-two lines and so we cannot know if the enallage first appeared there.

³⁰ The plea appears again in CAT 1.4 iv 47–51, but in that passage there is no second request and its placement within the discussion between El and Athirat leaves it unclear as to whether Baal is speaking or Athirat is repeating his words.

“On a second subject **I** would speak with you:
Produce, please, a gift for Lady Athirat of the Sea
A present for the Creatress of the Gods”.

CAT 1.4 i 19–22

Moving forward in the epic we hear Athirat referring to herself in the third person when addressing Baal and Anat.

ik . tmgm . rbt / atrt . ym .
tǵzy / qnyt . ilm .

“Why do you entreat **Lady Athirat of the Sea?**
Why do you beseech the **Creatress of the Gods**”?

CAT 1.4 iii 28–30

They promptly respond to her in kind.

nmgm / []m . rbt . atrt . ym /
nǵzyn . qnyt . ilm /

“Let us entreat **Lady Athirat of the Sea,**
Let us beseech **the Creatress of the Gods**”.

CAT 1.4 iii 33–36

El then addresses his wife similarly with third person forms, but shifts immediately to the second person and a series of imperatives³¹.

ik mǵyt . rbt . atr[t . y]m /
ik . atwt . qnyt . il[m]
rǵb . rǵbt . wtǵt [] /
hm . ḡmu . ḡmit . w’s []
lḥm . hm . štyḥ
lḥ[m] / btllḥnt . lḥm
št / bkḥpnm . yn .
bk<s> . ḥrs / dm ‘šm .

“Why has **Lady Athir[at] of the Sea** come?
Why has **the Creatress of the G[ods]** come?
Are **you** very hungry, having travel[ed],
Or are **you** very thirsty, having jour[neyed]?”

Eat or drink:

E[at] food from the tables,

Drink wine from the goblets,

From a golden cup, the blood of trees”.

CAT 1.4 iv 31–38

³¹ As observed by WATSON 2002: 77–78.

Afterwards, El then refers to himself in the third person.

hm . yd . ilmk / yḥssk .
ahbt . tr . t'rrk

“Or does the ‘hand’ of **El** the **King** excite **you**,
 The love of the **Bull** arouse **you**”?

CAT 1.4 iv 38–39

Nevertheless, after Athirat responds, his rhetorical questions use first person forms. He also shifts his address to her from second to third person.

p'bd . an . 'nn . aṯrt /
p'bd . ank . aḥd . ulṯ /
hm . amt . aṯrt . tlbn / lbnt

“So am **I** a slave, **Athirat** a slave girl?
 Am **I** a slave who handles tools,
 Or **Athirat** a servant who molds bricks”?

CAT 1.4 iv 59–62

When Baal sends messengers to the god Mot to proclaim his kingship, Mot takes it as a personal affront and quickly dispatches a threat, which shifts rapidly from first to third person³².

krs / ipdk . ank . /
ispi . uṯm / drqm . amtm .
lyrt / bnpš . bn ilm . mt .
bmh / mrt . ydd . il . ḡzr

“**I**, even **I**, will tear you to pieces,
I will eat flanks, innards, forearms.
 Surely you will descend into **Divine Mot**’s throat,
 Into the gullet of **El**’s **Beloved**, the **Hero**”.

CAT 1.5 i 4–8

Mot’s messengers repeat the same case of enallage to Baal *verbatim* in CAT 1.5 i 31–35³³, thus demonstrating their faithful obedience. Following a broken section in the tablet, Mot’s third person references to himself continue.

³² On the difficulties of this passage, see EMERTON 1972; CLIFFORD 1987.

³³ The parallel passage to CAT 1.5 i 4–8 probably existed in the missing thirty lines that follow, i.e. CAT 1.5 i 31–35.

*y'rb / [b] 'l . bkbdh .
 bph . yrd / kḥrr . zt .
 ybl . arṣ . wpr / 'sm .*

“[Ba]al will enter **his** innards,
 Into **his** mouth he will descend like a dried olive,
 Produce of the earth and fruit of the trees”.

CAT 1.5 ii 3–6

In an alternative tablet that is perhaps a part of the Baal cycle, the goddess Anat addresses Baal first in the second person vocative and then in the third person³⁴.

*bšrt . il . bš[r b] 'l /
 wbšr . ḥtk . [dgn] /
 k . ibr . lb 'l [. yld] /
 wrum . lrkb [.] 'rpt /*

“Great news! Welco[me it, O **Baal**.]
 Welcome it, O **Offspring of [Dagan]**.
 For a bull is [bor]n to **Baal**,
 A wild ox to the **Rider of the Clouds**”!

CAT 1.10 iii 33–36

In each line, Anat employs only his personal name and epithets.

IV. Observations on Enallage in the Ugaritic Epics

The twenty-one cases of enallage in the Ugaritic epics all appear in direct discourse³⁵. In terms of the figures who employ the device there appear to be no restrictions. We find it in the speeches of mortals (kings and heroes) and deities (male and female), with either serving as addresser or addressee, though the

³⁴ See WATSON 2002: 78–79. The third person reference is made clear by the verbal form *yld* with indirect objects *lb 'l* and *lrkb 'rpt*.

³⁵ WATSON 2002: 79, offers another example of a switch from third to second person and back to third person again in CAT 1.13. However, the text is fragmentary and its context is unclear. Watson (78) also includes Baal’s command to Kothar to build him a temple (CAT 1.4 v 49–55, used also by El to Kothar in CAT 1.2 iii 6–11), but the forms that he reads as third person plural imperfects also can be understood as second person singular verbs with energetic endings. Consequently I have left these texts out of this study. If we were to include them, we would have twenty-five cases of enallage in the Ugaritic epics. In this case, in the light of the functions proposed below, I submit that the abrupt switch in Baal’s words to Kothar enhances the suddenness of the command. Note that the passage repeats the adverb *ḥš* “quickly” four times in rapid succession and see the comment of SMITH–PITARD 2009: 578, who also read the verbs in question as second person imperfect forms: “...here the repetition conveys an urgency on Baal’s part”.

majority of both categories belong to gods – likely a reflection of the largely mythological nature of the texts. The deities include: as addresser (El [8x], Anat [3x], Baal [2x], Mot [2x]) and as addressee (El [2x], Baal [3x], Athirat [3x], Kothar [1x], Yaṭpan [1x], divine assembly [1x]). Mortals include: as addresser (Danel [2x], Kirtu [1x], Ilḫu [1x], Paḡhit [1x], Thitmanit [1x]) and as addressee (Kirtu [6x], Danel [1x], Pabuli [1x], stalks [2x]). The distribution reveals that the chief god El is the figure whose speech employs enallage most often, then Anat, Baal, and Mot. El serves with Athirat and Baal as the most frequent divine addressees. With regard to mortals, only Danel, Kirtu, and their children employ enallage, whereas it is Kirtu who most often serves as an addressee. The ritual stalks also twice appear as addressees.

The four types of enallage in Ugaritic texts (including repeated cases) are attested as follows: second to third person (7x), third to second person (7x), first to third person (5x) and third to first person (2x)³⁶.

Second to Third Person

El to Kirtu (CAT 1.14 i 38–43)

El to Kirtu (CAT 1.14 ii 25–28)

El to Athirat (CAT 1.4 iv 38–39; 1.4 iv 59–62)

Ilḫu to Kirtu (CAT 1.16 i 14–19; 1.16 i 20–23)

Thitmanit to Kirtu (CAT 1.16 ii 36–44; 1.16 ii 44–49)

Baal to El (CAT 1.17 i 16–21)

Anat to Baal (CAT 1.10 iii 33–36)

Third to Second Person

El to Kirtu (CAT 1.14 i 38–43; 1.14 ii 7–9)

El to divine assembly (CAT 1.16 v 10–25)

³⁶ Cases of first to third person switching can be complicated, because sometimes one figure is quoting another. For example, Kirtu's self-references appear in El's instructions to him (CAT 1.14 iii 38–40; 1.14 iii 48–49, 1.14 vi 22–25; 1.14 vi 33–35). So one could ask whether the switch to third person represents El speaking about Kirtu rather than quoting him. Yet, this is unlikely since in all the other cases the identities of the addresser and addressee are clear. Thus, in CAT 1.18 i 11–14, Anat clearly uses self-references while addressing El. When Danel addresses himself, he is alone with the stalks (CAT 1.19 ii 15–18; it repeats CAT 1.19 ii 22–25). Mot's self-references in his threat to Baal are obviously his own words (CAT 1.5 i 4–8; 1.5 i 31–35; 1.5 ii 3–6). The same can be said for third-to-first person switches. El's self-reference occurs in his own statement to Athirat (CAT 1.4 iv 38–39; 1.4 iv 59–62), as does Baal's "request" for a temple (CAT 1.3 iv 48–49).

Anat to Yatpan (CAT 1.18 iv 7; 1.18 iv 16–18, 21–22)

Danel to stalks (CAT 1.19 ii 15–18)

Repeats (CAT 1.19 ii 22–25)

Paghit to Danel (CAT 1.19 iv 29–31; 1.19 iv 32–35)

El to Athirat (CAT 1.4 iv 31–38)

First to Third Person

El to Kirtu (CAT 1.14 iii 38–40; 1.14 iii 48–49)

Repeats with Kirtu to Pabuli (CAT 1.14 vi 22–25, 33–35)

Anat to El (CAT 1.18 i 11–14)

Mot to Baal (CAT 1.5 i 4–8; 1.5 ii 3–6)

Repeats (CAT 1.5 i 31–35)

Third to First Person

Baal to Kothar (CAT 1.3 iv 48–49; 1.4 i 19–22)

El to Athirat (CAT 1.4 iv 38–39; 1.4 iv 59–62)

Each of these types occurs in the Hebrew Bible. All involve inversions of the first-third//third-first or second-third//third-second person forms³⁷. In the majority of cases, enallage in Ugaritic texts involves an interchange, in either direction, of pronouns with personal names and/or epithets. When exchanging second person pronouns, the personal names and epithets appear as vocatives (all unmarked) and/or appear with imperative verbal forms³⁸.

V. The Purposes of Enallage in the Ugaritic Epics

With regard to the function of enallage there is considerable difference in the way the various disciplines understand it. Biblical scholars, for the most part, have been content to catalogue examples without discussing their functions, labeling them only as literary or rhetorical tropes, though some have posited that they can have an allusive function or create or collapse the perceived distance between the

³⁷ In neither Ugaritic nor biblical Hebrew do we find cases of first-second//second-first enallage, as in Arabic literature, where the device is “utilized as a way for a character to express their internal thoughts and feelings to someone or something that is not able to respond”. See HAMMOND 2018: online reference, s.v. *'iltifāt*. The example Hammond provides depicts the poet first speaking about himself and then in his own voice. To my knowledge, we possess no such self-conscious poetic reflection in biblical and Ugaritic texts, though perhaps future research will prove this view incorrect.

³⁸ On the various ways Ugaritic expresses the vocative, see BARANOWSKI 2012.

addresser and addressee³⁹. Classicists, working primarily with different forms of enallage, have recognised their ability to attract curiosity, engage the listener’s mind and provoke reactions⁴⁰. Islamicists understand enallage as an effective means of grabbing and holding the audience’s attention or of encouraging a search for various forms of implicature⁴¹. They have posited that it can “ensure variety and lend discourse a particular vitality” as well as establish intimacy; spotlight and specify certain concepts; rebuke; reinforce defamiliarisation; and hyperbolise the wonderment of the circumstance in which an addressee finds him/herself⁴². Reference switching in Arabic literature also can emphasise the suddenness of the discourse or create a distance between the speaker and addressee that lessens the negative impact of the speech’s contents⁴³. I will turn to many of these proposals below as I examine the functions of the four types of enallage in the Ugaritic corpus.

V.1. Second to Third Person

The seven cases that move from second to third person function to underscore the suddenness of an event and to distance the addresser from the addressee. Sometimes, this distance aids in softening the impact of the speech’s content by reducing the negative influence that the topic might create for the subject. This type of enallage also can mark important transitional moments in the text.

These functions are apparent in CAT 1.14 i 38–43 in which El approaches Kirtu in a dream (CAT 1.14 i 37). The abrupt switch from second person pronoun and vocative to third person forms captures well the precipitateness of the nocturnal theophoric experience and serves to distance the god from the dreamer immediately after he addresses him by name⁴⁴. As in Arabic literature, the enallage also “exaggerates the wonder of the situation” in which Kirtu finds himself⁴⁵. Furthermore, the distance created between the divine and mortal worlds is crucial to the literary portrayal of a dream in which such liminal boundaries are blurry at best and dangerous at worst. Indeed, the distance reinforces defamiliarisation and diminishes any negative impact that the dream contents might have for Kirtu⁴⁶. This is in keeping with ancient Near Eastern depictions of dreams generally, which often provoke fear and trepidation⁴⁷.

³⁹ For a possible allusive function within the context of Deuteronomy, see ARNOLD 2017b: 32. On the device’s distancing function, see BOKOVOY 2000, who unfortunately offers no arguments or evidence to support the claim inherent in the article’s title.

⁴⁰ See CONTE 2007: 70–71, 110.

⁴¹ HAMMOND 2018, online reference, s.v. *’iltifāt*; AL-BADANI, *et al.* 2014.

⁴² HATIM – MASON 1997: 95–96; also found in AL-BADANI, *et al.* 2014: 76.

⁴³ DURAKOVIĆ 2007: 10; HATIM – MASON 1997: 100.

⁴⁴ DE MOOR 1987: 227 n. 16, remarks: “Unintroduced direct oration is a frequent phenomenon in the literature of Ugarit”.

⁴⁵ In the words of HATIM – MASON 1997: 96.

⁴⁶ On enallage as reinforcing defamiliarisation, see DURAKOVIĆ 2007: 12.

⁴⁷ See Noegel 2007.

El's command that Kirtu offer a sacrifice to Baal also occurs in the context of a dream (CAT 1.14 ii 25–27). The shift to third person again distances the speaker from the addressee. However, here the rapid switch severs the list of commands leading to the ritual sacrifice from the mundane actions that follow (i.e. leaving the sacred area and preparing his militia). It thus functions both as a literary transition and as a means of demarcating the sacred act. The linguistic transition draws attention to the notion that Kirtu's military arrangements should not take place until after the king has fulfilled his ritual obligations.

El's rhetorical third person query to Athirat follows quickly upon his second person sexual advance (CAT 1.4 iv 38–39). When she does not reply to his unwanted play, but instead proclaims Baal's kingship and sanctions his desire for a temple, El finds himself insulted and perceives her request as unbecoming of his royal status: "So am I a slave, Athirat a slave girl? Am I a slave who handles tools, or Athirat a servant who molds bricks"? (CAT 1.4 iv 59–62). The third person focus on her name, rather than an epithet, in parallelism with his own first person pronoun, creates an ironic distance between El's kingship and servitude and severs any intimacy that might have otherwise informed the immediate context. The combined passages also produce an *inclusio* that distinguishes the dialogue from the action that follows. In fact, El's question stands at the end of the column.

Ilḥu's move from second to third person also creates a distance, in this case, between Ilḥu and his father (CAT 1.16 i 14–23). Since Ilḥu contemplates what he perceives to be Kirtu's imminent death, the distance similarly removes the addressee's referential presence, thereby protecting him from any potential harmful effects of the address. With Basil Hatim and Ian Mason, one might say that the text opens a "maximal distance" that allows the address to become "non-threatening"⁴⁸. When Ilḥu's thoughts move him to query his father's divine status, his use of Kirtu's personal name, third person pronouns, and epithets generate a distance that distinguishes Kirtu for his special status as a Son of El and the Progeny of the Gentle and Holy One⁴⁹.

These observations are borne out additionally by Thitmanit's repetition of Ilḥu's lament. She addresses her father directly in the second person when wailing: "Baal's mountain will weep for you, O father" (CAT 1.16 ii 44), thus registering her moving intimacy and close involvement in the mourning process. However, her switch to the third person forms an interspace that allows her to distinguish her father from other mortals as a Son of El and Progeny of the Gentle and Holy One (CAT 1.16 ii 48–49).

Baal's enallagic speech to El in CAT 1.17 i 16–21 similarly illustrates some of the functions proposed by classicists and Islamicists. The god's words mark the first moment following the climax of Danel's seven-day ritual. They therefore embody a pivotal linguistic moment in the narrative that combines Danel's request for children with Baal's petition on his behalf. In essence, Baal's plea to El envelopes Danel's plea. The second person pronoun and vocative cause imme-

⁴⁸ HATIM – MASON 1997: 99.

⁴⁹ The epithet Son of El elsewhere refers only to Baal (CAT 1.17 vi 29). See RAHMOUNI 2007: 88.

ciate confusion as to where Baal is and to whom he is speaking – is it Danel or El? Indeed, the enallage is preceded only by the words *wyqrb . b l . bhnth* “Baal draws near in compassion” (CAT 1.17 i 16), leaving it ambiguous at this juncture where Baal’s compassion is directed. As Simon Parker astutely observes: “In light of the preceding it would seem that Baal approaches Daniel, but from the following it is clear that he approaches El”⁵⁰. Concerning this form of enallage in the Qur’ān, Esad Duraković has appositely remarked that it “... sometimes borders on commutation or transposition of persons”⁵¹. With the classicist Gian Biagio Conte one also might say that the immediate transition to third person pronouns “violates syntactical normality” and thereby kindles one’s curiosity and contemplation of the divine scene⁵². The distance created by the switch serves to demarcate the earthly ritual space in which Danel stands from the divine abode in which El sits. In the space of a single breath, Baal has crossed from one realm to the other merely by switching persons.

When Anat praises Baal in CAT 1.10 iii 33–36, her enallage is rather unique among our examples, because it employs the personal name Baal and one of his epithets at first in the vocative (Offspring of Dagan) and then in the third person (Rider of the Clouds). Pronouns do not appear. According to Aicha Rahmouni, the former epithet emphasises the god’s agricultural fertility, whereas the latter, is the only one used of Baal “that specifically refers to his association with the storm”⁵³. Fitting here is the observation of Marlé Hammond with regard to the device in Arabic literature that “enallage is designed to direct a reader or audience member’s attention to the entity being addressed as a means of indicating its importance or significance”⁵⁴. Hatim and Mason’s reflection that the device can “underscore and specify certain concepts” is equally useful here⁵⁵.

V.2. Third to Second Person

The seven cases of enallage that switch from third to second person function to collapse the distance between addresser and addressee and thus increase their intimacy. In Arabic literature, the switch can express “a sudden and unexpected change of the speaker’s perspective”⁵⁶. In Ugaritic texts, this effect also can highlight an important transition in the narrative.

El’s speech to Kirtu, discussed above for its switch from second to third person, is followed by yet another switch back to the second person by way of a vocative: “Enough of crying, O Kirtu, of weeping, the Pleasant, Lad of El!” (CAT 1.14 ii 7–9). The two cases of enallage bookend Kirtu’s rejection of El’s apparent offer to supply him with wealth and his bitter request for children. The two forms of enallage move in opposite directions and yet both focus on the god’s concern

⁵⁰ Parker 1997: 79 n. 7.

⁵¹ DURAKOVIĆ 2007: 12.

⁵² CONTE 2007: 83.

⁵³ RAHMOUNI 2007: 290.

⁵⁴ HAMMOND 2018, online reference, s.v. *’iltifāt*.

⁵⁵ HATIM – MASON 1997: 96.

⁵⁶ DURAKOVIĆ 2007: 10.

for the crying king. As such, they form an *inclusio* that sets the intervening material apart and marks a turning point in the dream narrative. The second case of enallage functions to close the gap between god and mortal. It captures El's intimacy with the king and his active interest in his personal affairs. As Hatim and Mason observe, increased involvement and intimacy can imply a speaker's politeness towards the addressee⁵⁷. Indeed, heightening the sense of closeness and Baal's benevolence are Kirtu's epithets "Pleasant" and "Lad of El". The former reveals Baal's kind disposition towards Kirtu, while the latter conveys his divine support.

The rapid switch to second person in El's query to the gods of the assembly similarly increases the intimacy of the moment (CAT 1.16 v 10–25). It thus adds weight and presence to his ironic command that they stay seated. The change in person constitutes the dramatic climax of his seven fruitless queries and signals a shift in perspective and transition in the plot for immediately afterwards El takes it upon himself to accomplish the task by fashioning a new entity, the "Dispeller of Disease" (*gršt zbln*).

The purpose of Anat's use of third-to-second person enallage in her words to Yatpan (CAT 1.18 iv 7, 16–17) is more difficult to gauge as the context is largely broken. Not only does it occur in a fragmentary section of the column, but the end of column two and all of column three that precede it are lost. Nevertheless, even with the portion that remains it is clear that the switch to the vocative and second person lessens the distance between the two figures and thus allows for the intimate scene in which Anat draws close to Yatpan to turn him into her personal assassin⁵⁸. In fact, she moves from mere talk to physical manipulation when she puts him in her sheath like a falcon (CAT 1.18 iv 27–29). Moreover, here too the device creates a turning point in the story. It is here when Anat moves from expressing a general desire to avenge Aqhat to her hatching a specific plot to murder him.

Intimacy is also enhanced by the switch from third to second person in the account of Danel's ritual involving the stalks (CAT 1.19 ii 15–18). The linguistic move focuses greater attention on the stalks and their ability to flourish. They are no longer merely plants in his hand, but personalised objects that can be ritually manipulated. Moreover, the text shifts one's perspective. The stalks are no longer seen as objects from afar, but through Danel's eyes. Stressing the importance of the ritual and its intimacy is the fact that the passage is repeated (CAT 1.19 ii 22–25).

The third-to-second person enallage in Paghit's speech to her father Danel operates similarly. On the one hand, it registers the moment when Paghit moves from their initial encounter to her specific request that Danel bless her desire to avenge her brother's death (CAT 1.19 iv 29–35). It thus again supplies a narrative transition that enables action. On the other hand, the enallage closes the distance between daughter and father, thus lending the scene greater intimacy. The closeness increases the likelihood that the blessing and empowerment she requests will take place. In the words of Hatim and Mason, such enallage can "relay a more

⁵⁷ HATIM – MASON 1997: 100.

⁵⁸ Yatpan's name is fitting to the task as it means "ripper". See WATSON 1976: 373.

supportive attitude and thus establish intimacy by, for example, involving the receiver in the communicative act”⁵⁹. Moreover, the employment of third-to-second person enallage in this account adds to the known literary parallels that tie it to the pericope involving Anat discussed above, which encourage listeners to contrast the behavior of the two daughters⁶⁰.

El’s address to his wife Athirat employs third-to-second person enallage to like effect (CAT 1.4 iv 31–38). The move signals a sudden switch from distance to involvement. The shortened distance increases the sense of intimacy between El and his wife. Recall that the passage stacks query upon query in such a way as to move the figures increasingly closer together. El first asks “Are you very hungry, having travel[ed], or are you very thirsty, having jour[neyed]”? (CAT 1.4 iv 33–34) and then moves to a direct (imperative) invitation for her to eat and drink with him. His questions reach a crescendo of intimacy with his euphemistic inquiry over whether she has come to have sex with him. The narrative development recalls the findings of Hatim and Mason: “Intimacy also influences the other factor of register membership, that of physical distance between the addresser and the addressees in the narrative (mode)”⁶¹. Magnifying the closeness of the setting are the epithets that El uses for himself and his wife. “Bull” and “Creatress of the Gods” index the gods’ fertility and procreative powers and thus empower the sexual charge of the encounter. “Lady Athirat of the Sea” is an honorary title that befits her royal status and likely relates to her husband’s abode, which was surrounded by fresh water⁶². That it should appear in El’s mouth perhaps serves to remind Athirat of her place at El’s side. At the same time, as with the other examples in this group, the enallage in this pericope marks a turning point in the narrative. Immediately after El’s sexual innuendo (i.e. the close of the enallage), Athirat reveals her support for Baal’s kingship over El and obtains El’s permission to build Baal’s temple.

V.3. First to Third Person

It is perhaps more surprising to find first person pronouns (invariably singular in form) exchanged for personal names and/or epithets. The five Ugaritic examples are unique in this regard, but like cases of second-to-third person enallage, they leverage distance between the speaker and addressee. However, in these cases the switch distances not the addressee, but the speaker. It thus functions as a form of self-distancing that places greater emphasis on the name and epithet with which he/she is paired. As such it tends to underscore the relationship, role, and/or status of the figure in question. It also occurs at important junctures in the narrative.

For example, the enallage in Kirtu’s dream concludes by focusing on the children needed to secure his family line (CAT 1.14 iii 48–49). The first person

⁵⁹ HATIM – MASON 1997: 96.

⁶⁰ On these parallels, see the important study by NATAN-YULZARY 2012: 439–43.

⁶¹ HATIM – MASON 1997: 99.

⁶² On these epithets, see RAHMOUNI 2007: 276–77, 281–85, 318–19.

pronouns in his request for Lady Huraya resume in the enallage as references to his own name and epithet, *Servant of El*. The device highlights the relevance of his name as progenitor of the family and his special status with regard to the chief god of the pantheon. In addition, it occurs immediately before Kirtu awakens and realises that his entire dialogue with El has been a dream. It thus operates as a textual transition.

Anat's use of enallage switches from her first person threats to make El's head run with blood to her third person dare to see if Aqhat might save him "from the hand of the Maiden Anat" (CAT 1.18 i 11–14). Here again the self-reference places significance on the meaning and importance of her epithet; hence it concludes her warning. Since the epithet "Maiden" invokes the goddess's youth and femininity⁶³, Anat's use of it imbues her warning with a sense of irony. It underscores for El and the listener that her identity as a young woman in no way restricts her ability to wreak violence against the chief god. It also functions in accord with Arabic literature in which enallage can function to scold the addressee⁶⁴. As Hatim and Mason inform us:

ideational values such as introspection, haranguing, sermonizing, all have a part to play in relaying overall polite or impolite effects. So do factors such as power and solidarity and distance and involvement⁶⁵.

Moreover, the sudden shift grants Anat's statement a certain power of surprise that intensifies the threat. The syntactic violence aptly conveys the content⁶⁶. Since the enallage constitutes her last words before El relents and sanctions her vengeance against Aqhat, it also signals a turning point in the story.

Mot's menacing invitation to Baal serves a similar function (CAT 1.5 i 4–8; 1.5 ii 3–6). The distance created between Mot's direct commination and his third person self-references confer special emphasis upon his name and epithets. As Rahmouni discusses, the epithets "Divine Mot" and "El's Beloved, the Hero" "express the special, favored relationship between 'Ilu, the head of the Ugaritic pantheon and Môtû, the most deadly rival of Ba'lu"⁶⁷. They therefore present a serious challenge to Baal's claim to kingship and put his desire for a temple in check. Moreover, the epithets conclude Mot's message, which gives them added weight. From a literary perspective, they serve to move the narrative forward, because once the letter's contents are conveyed, the messengers set off to deliver the missive to Baal.

⁶³ RAHMOUNI 2007: 139–41.

⁶⁴ HATIM – MASON 1997: 96.

⁶⁵ HATIM – MASON 1997: 100.

⁶⁶ The comment of CONTE 2007: 71, on the effect of enallage is apropos: "The violence may appear to infringe only on the coherence of the syntax, but in fact it reaches and violates the semantic coherence as well: the deviation involves the reader's senses, engaging his/her mind and kindling his/her reactions".

⁶⁷ RAHMOUNI 2007: 196.

V.4. Third to First Person

The opposite enallagic move again exhibits an increase in intimacy that correlates to a reduction in distance. However, where the third-to-first form of enallage differs is in its self-referentiality. In this type, the switch to first person casts the speaker as having a more direct role in the contents of the discourse. This contrasts with the previous third person self-reference, which in hindsight appears indirect, reticent, demure, and/or euphemistic in nature.

Each of the two Ugaritic exemplars involves a conversation between deities (Baal to Kothar and El to Athirat). In the former, Baal asks the artisan god to build him a temple. The third person self-references allow him to couch his request in a less direct manner, thus making it sound more like an observation than a petition. Bolstering Baal's lack of presence in the account is the fact that, only after he completes his claim and turns to another topic – one that involves giving gifts to El's wife – does he switch to the first person: “On a second subject I would speak with you” (CAT 1.4 i 19–20). The enallage thus proceeds from the indirect to the direct. Perhaps Baal frames his passive “request” to avoid seeming overly aggressive or confrontational before El. Note that nowhere does Baal assert his own kingship or even make his request personally to El, unlike Athirat who boldly proclaims Baal's sovereignty to her husband's face before stating the case for building his temple⁶⁸. Amplifying the indirectness of Baal's “request” is the circuitous path his letter must take. Though his message is addressed to El (CAT 1.4 i 4–6), it is delivered by messengers first to Kothar and it is not until the news reaches Athirat that the petition makes its way to El (CAT 1.4 iv 50–53). From a literary perspective, the switch to first person officially concludes the matter concerning a temple and pushes the narrative forward to the new topic of making gifts for the goddess who will secure his sanctuary.

The second case of third-to-first person reference switching occurs in El's dialogue with Athirat. I already have discussed the first-to-third person enallage that informs El's sexual overture to his wife. This case of enallage forms an *inclusio* with the third-to-first person switch, which marks the conclusion of their dialogue⁶⁹. In Athirat's response, she ignores his sexual comment and instead shrewdly praises El's wisdom just before asserting Baal's lordship (CAT 1.4 iv 41–44). El's first person reply represents an about-face from his previous questions and portrays him as emotionally defensive: “So am I a slave, Athirat a slave girl? Am I a slave who handles tools, or Athirat a servant who moulds bricks”? (CAT 1.4 iv 59–62). As with the previous example, the enallage here again functions to move the dialogue from the indirect to the direct, in this case, from sexual innuendo to the pointed pain of a face-to-face insult. Furthermore, the *inclusio* formed by the enallage constitutes its own literary unit. Thus the story transitions immediately afterwards to El's approval of Baal's temple.

⁶⁸ Of course, it is possible that such a claim could have appeared in a now lost section of the epic, e.g. in his missive to Mot in CAT 1.4 viii 38–48.

⁶⁹ The switch to third person also enables the scribe Ilimilku to integrate a subtle colophon that permits us to read *hm . yd . ilmlk / yḥssk* (CAT 1.4 iv 38–39) as: “Does the hand of Ilimilku instruct you?” See Noegel 2021: 112. I thank Corinna Nichols for this observation.

VI. Conclusion

The evidence offered here demonstrates that the Ugaritic bards employed enallage with great dexterity and diversity. The twenty-one cases (and four types) found in the corpus (first-to-third, second-to-third, third-to-second, and third-to-first person) occur only in direct discourse and possess different literary functions that mostly depend on how they create or reduce distance between the speaker and addressee. This distance determines the degree to which the texts signal involvement and convey intimacy. Depending on the type employed, the device can also possess the following functions: underscore the suddenness of a situation; reduce the potential negative harm that a topic might create for the subject; reinforce defamiliarisation; scold the addressee; emphasise the indirectness of a discourse; kindle curiosity and wonder; serve as a literary parallel; and underscore the importance and meaning of names and epithets. Since one can find the device serving these same functions in Greek and later Arabic texts, one must posit that enallage was recognised by ancient audiences and that it enjoyed a long transmission, along with so many other poetic devices, among the erudite scribes of the ancient Mediterranean world. On the other hand, unlike Greek and Arabic texts, each of the types of Ugaritic enallage occurs at an important narrative transition, with some (i.e. third-to-second, first-to-third, and third to first person) forming *inclusios* around dialogue. Future studies will perhaps enlighten us as to whether such a function also obtains in other ancient texts. Indeed, I hope that the study offered here will permit scholars to assess more formally and comprehensively the functions of the device in biblical Hebrew, a project that remains a desideratum⁷⁰.

⁷⁰ A brief perusal of the biblical examples I cite above bears this out. In Ps 23:4–5, the move from third to second person enhances the intimacy between the speaker and Yahweh at the most liminal moment in the prayer, when the psalmist expresses angst while walking through the valley of deepest darkness. The shift back to third person (v. 6) again creates distance as the climax shifts to a volitive modality. The intimacy expressed by the enallage in Song 1:2 serves a more erotic purpose by bringing the beloved closer to her lover. Lam 3:1 does not involve a personal name or epithet. Nevertheless, it does suggest a certain euphemistic distancing of the speaker from the harmful effects of Yahweh's fury. The statement of Joseph's brothers in Gen 42:10–11 likely depicts conventional decorum that distances the speaker from an addressee who has more status and power. We find this many times also in letters. Though also not cited in KAUTZSCH 1910, I add that 2 Sam 7:20–21, in which David refers to himself in the third person by name and as "your servant" likewise adopts a position of deference, while also adding weight to the importance of his name as Yahweh's anointed. Finally, the enallage in Lev 2:8 distinguishes the sacred act of bringing the offering to the priest from what precedes it in a way similar to what we have seen in the Epic of Kirtu. The line also marks a transition in the narrative as it separates the various ways one might prepare a meal offering from the actions of the priest who offers it to Yahweh.

Finally, I note that at least five cases of enallage in Ugaritic texts suggest that, in some situations, it may have had a performative function or sought to depict one⁷¹. In the pericopes involving Kirtu's divine dream (CAT 1.14 i 38–43) and his son's contemplation of his father's death (CAT 1.16 i 14–23), the device distances the addressee, thus safeguarding him from any potential harm posed by the address. In the former case, it serves to buffer the king from any ill influence of the dream, and in the latter, it offers a euphemistic screen to ensure that the king does not suffer the fate pondered for him⁷². The enallage in El's command to sacrifice (CAT 1.14 ii 25–27), which also occurs in the dream, separates sacred time and space from more mundane matters. A performative function likely also informs the repeated account of Danel and his ritual with the stalks (CAT 1.19 ii 15–18). The passage's use of enallage depicts the illocutionary speech accompanying the ritual. In essence, the speech both illustrates and accomplishes the performative act.

Regardless of the diverse purposes that it can serve, I submit that we must now add enallage to the list of learned NWS poetic devices known to us primarily from later Israelite and other texts.

Bibliography

- AL-BADANI, N.A.M.A., *et al.*, 2014. The implicature of reference switching (*iltifāt*) from second person to third person in the translation of *Sūrat Al-Baqarah*, *AWEJ* 3: 75–87.
- AL-QURAN, M. – B. AL-AZZAM, 2009. Apostrophe: a rhetorical device of the Qur'ān, *USCFL* 4: 1–14, 24.
- ARAYATHINAL, T., 2006. Aramaic (Syriac) Grammar. Vol. 2. Kiraz Historical Grammars Archive, 2. Piscataway, NJ.
- ARNOLD, B. T., 2017a. Number switching in Deuteronomy 12–26 and the quest for *Urdeuteronomium*. *Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte* 23: 163–80.
- 2017b. Reexamining the 'fathers' in Deuteronomy's framework, in K. Spronk – H. Barstad, (eds), *Torah and Tradition: Papers Read at the Sixteenth Joint Meeting of the Society for Old Testament Study and the Oudtestamentisch Werkgezelschap*, Edinburgh 2015. Leiden/Boston, 10–41.
- BARANOWSKI, K.J., 2012. The Ugaritic vocative in light of the Akkadian of Ugarit, *UF* 43: 7–12.

⁷¹ Perhaps this function should be posited for some of the Arabic materials as well. AL-QURAN – AL-AZZAM 2009: 6, assert that the device possesses “purely rhetorical functions”, but yet also note: “The Qur'anic style has changed to address someone absent, as it could have an unpleasant impact to directly inform the addressees of their catastrophic end. This politeness of the Qur'anic discourse aims at reducing the negative influence that it may create on the subjects...”

⁷² On the performative (“magic”) dimension of events reported in the Epic of Kirtu (incubation, ritual offerings, blessings, curses, etc.), see NIEHR 2019.

- BEGG, C.T., 1980. Literary criticisms of Deut 4, 1–40, 28–45, contributions to a continuing discussion, *ETL* 56: 12–23.
- BERS, V., 1974. *Enallage and Greek Style*. Leiden: Brill.
- BOKOVOY, D.E., 2000. From distance to proximity: A poetic function of enallage in the Hebrew Bible and the Book of Mormon, *JBMS* 9: 60–80.
- BRETTLER, M.Z., 2018. Enallage in the Bible. *TheTorah.com*. <https://www.thetorah.com/article/enallage-in-the-bible>.
- CAPLICE, R.I., 1965. Namburbi texts in the British Museum. I, *Or* 34: 105–31.
- CLIFFORD, R.J., 1987. Mot invites Baal to a feast: Observations on a difficult Ugaritic text (CTA 5.i = KTU 1.5 I), in D.M. Golomb – T. Hollis (eds), *Working with No Data: Semitic and Egyptian Studies Presented to Thomas O. Lambdin*. Winona Lake, IN, 55–64.
- CONTE, G.B., 2007. *The Poetry of Pathos: Studies in Virgilian Epic*. Oxford.
- DURAKOVIĆ, E., 2007. Rhetorical twist in the Qur’ān, *JJIS* 4: 9–15.
- EISSFELT, O., 1934. *Einleitung in das Alte Testament: unter Einschluss der Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen. Entstehungsgeschichte des Alten Testaments*. Tübingen.
- EMERTON, J.A., 1972. A difficult part of Mot’s message to Baal in the Ugaritic texts (CTA 5. i. 4–6), *AJBA* 15: 50–71.
- D’ESPEREY, S.F., 2006. Rhétorique et poétique chez Quintilien : à propos de l’apostrophe, *Rhetorica* 24: 163–85.
- GABRIELLA F.S., 1995. Hittite witchcraft, magic and divination, in J.M. Sasson, (ed.), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*. Vol. 3. New York, 2007–19.
- GOLDINGAY, J., 1978. Repetition and variation in the Psalms, *JQR* 68: 146–51.
- GORDON, C.H., 1965. *Ugaritic Textbook*. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute.
- HAMMOND, M., 2018. *A Dictionary of Arabic Literary Terms and Devices*. Oxford.
- HATIM, B. – I. MASON, 1997. *The Translator as Communicator*. London.
- HOEKSTRA, A., 1976. Enallage and the transferred epithet: Some remarks on condensed effects in Aeschylus, in J. Bremer – S. Radt – C. Ruijgh, (eds), *Miscellanea Tragica in Honorem J. C. Kamerbeek*. Amsterdam, 157–71.
- HOOPEN, R.B. TEN, 2019. Who wants to live forever? The meaning and reception of *blmt* in Ugaritic Studies,” *UF* 50: 359–76.
- KAUTZSCH, E., (ed.), 1910. *Gesenius’ Hebrew Grammar*. Transl. A.E. Cowley. Oxford.
- KIM, K., 2011. Incubation as a Type-Scene in the Aqhatu, Kirta and Hannah Stories: A Form Critical and Narratological Study of KTU 1.14 I–1.15 III, 1.17 I–II and 1 Samuel 1:1–2:11. *VTSup*, 14. Leiden.
- KRAMER, S.N., 1962. *The Sacred Marriage Rite: Aspects of Faith, Myth and Ritual in Ancient Sumer*. Bloomington, IN.
- LAM, J., 2019. The meaning of *mat* in KTU 1.14 I:38 (Kirta): A review of previous solutions and a new proposal, *UF* 50: 179–92.
- LEVIAS, C., 1934. Enallage in the Bible, *AJSL* 50: 104–108.

- LORETZ, O., 1964. *Qohelet und der alte Orient: Untersuchungen zu Stil und theologischer Thematik des Buches Qohelt*. Freiburg.
- MARGALIT, B., 1989. *The Ugaritic Poem of AQHT: Text, Translation, Commentary*. BZAW, 182. Berlin/New York.
- MILGROM, J., 1991. *Leviticus 1–16*. AB, 3; Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- TILLESSE, G.M. de, 1962. Sections ‘tu’ et sections ‘vous’ dans le Deutéronome, VT 12: 29–87.
- MITCHELL, H.G., 1899. The use of the second person in Deuteronomy, JBL 18: 61–109.
- MONTANARI, F., 2015. *The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek*. Leiden.
- MOOR, J.C. DE, 1987. *An Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit*. Nisaba: Religious Texts Translation Series, 16. Leiden/New York.
- NATAN-YULZARY, SH., 2012. Contrast and meaning in the Aqhat story, VT 63: 433–49.
- 2017. The resumptive repetition for the construction of time and space in the Ugaritic epic of Aqht, UF 48: 373–92.
- NIEHR, H., 2019. Ritual und Magie im Kirta-Epos, UF 50: 273–94.
- NOEGEL, S.B., 2014. Kirtu’s Allusive Dream, AuOr 32: 299–316.
- 2007. Nocturnal Ciphers: The Punning Language of Dreams in the Ancient Near East. AOS, 89. New Haven, CT.
- 2021. “Wordplay” in Ancient Near Eastern Texts. ANEMS, 26. Atlanta, GA.
- NOEGEL, S.B. – G. A. RENDSBURG, 2009. *Solomon’s Vineyard: Studies in Song of Songs*. AAIL, 1. Atlanta, GA.
- PARDEE, D., 2011. Illustrated epigraphic remarks to the first tablet of the *’Aqhatu* text, lines 1–24, UF 42: 903–18.
- – R.M. WHITING, 1987. Aspects of epistolary verbal usage in Ugaritic and Akkadian, BSOAS 50: 1–31.
- PARKER, S.B., (ed.), 1997. *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- PARPOLA, S., 1983. *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal*. Part II: Commentary and Appendices. AOAT, 5/2. Kevelaer.
- POPE, M.H., 1977. *Song of Songs*. AB, 7C. Garden City, NY.
- RAHMOUNI, A., 2007. Divine Epithets in the Ugaritic Alphabetic Texts. *Handbook of Oriental Studies, Part 1; Ancient Near East and Middle East*, 93. Leiden.
- RENSBURG, G.A., 2013. Variation in biblical Hebrew prose and poetry, in M.L. Grossman, (ed.), *Built by Wisdom, Established by Understanding: Essays on Biblical and Near Eastern Literature in Honor of Adele Berlin*. Bethes-da, MD, 197–226.
- 2015. Repetition with variation in legal-cultic texts of the Torah, in S. Yona – E.L. Greenstein – M.I. Gruber – P. Machinist – Sh.M. Paul, (eds), *Marbeh Ḥokmah: Studies in the Bible and the Ancient Near East in Loving Memory of Victor Avigdor Hurowitz*. Winona Lake, IN, 435–63.

- SEFATI, Y., 1998. *Love Songs in Sumerian Literature: Critical Edition of the Dumuzi-Inanna Songs*. Ramat Gan.
- SHAMIR, Y., 2005. Repetition and variation in biblical texts, UF 37: 729–40.
- SMITH, M.S. – W.T. PITARD, 2009. *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle. Volume II: Introduction with Text, Translation and Commentary of KTU/CAT 1.3 – 1.4*. Leiden.
- STAERK, W., 1894. *Das Deuteronomium, sein Inhalt und seine literarische Form: ein kritische Studie*. Leipzig.
- STEUERNAGEL, C., 1896. *Die Entstehung des deuteronomischen Gesetzes*. Halle.
- 1894. *Die Rahmen des Deuteronomiums litterarische Untersuchung über seine Zusammensetzung und Entstehung*. Halle.
- 1912. *Lehrbuch der Einleitung in das Alte Testament: mit einem Anhang über die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen*. Tübingen.
- 1898. *Übersetzung und Erklärung der Bücher Deuteronomium und Josua: und allgemeine Einleitung in den Hexateuch. Handkommentar zum Alten Testament, 1/3*. Göttingen.
- WAGNER, A., 1999. *Dichten und Denken. Zum Verständnis des ‘Personenwechsels’ in alttestamentlicher, ugaritischer und verwandter Literatur*, in M. Kropp – A. Wagner, (eds), *‘Schnittpunkt’ Ugarit: Nordostafrikanisch-Westasiatische Studien*. Frankfurt am Main, 271–84.
- WATSON, W.G.E., 1990. *Abrupt speech in Ugaritic narrative verse*, UF 22: 415–20.
- 1976. *Puzzling passages in the tale of Aqhat*, UF 8: 371–78.
- 1984. *Apostrophe in the Aqhat poem*, UF 16: 323–26.
- 2000. *The switch between second and third person address in Ugaritic*, SEL 17: 77–82.
- WYATT, N., 2002. *Religious Texts from Ugarit*. London.